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SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 17th MEETING

Chairman:	Mr. ALSAIDI (Vice-Chairman)	(Yemen)
later:	Mr. KHOUINI (Chairman)	(Tunisia)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 75: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued) (A/SPC/47/L.7 AND L.8)

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS (continued) (A/47/253)

(b) SPECIAL REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS (continued) (A/47/386)

(c) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/47/597 and 604)

1. The CHAIRMAN announced that Costa Rica, the Republic of Korea and Romania had joined the list of sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/47/L.8.

2. Mr. ZALESKI (Poland) said that the ideas and concrete proposals concerning preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping put forward in the Secretary-General's report entitled "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277-S/24111) were aimed at strengthening the role of the United Nations in those areas. Poland was following with keen interest the consideration of the report in the Security Council, in the open-ended working group and in the Main Committees of the General Assembly. In the view of his delegation, efforts should concentrate on the proposals aimed at strengthening the Organization's capabilities in the field of conflict containment and settlement that could be implemented without delay.

3. Poland supported the proposals contained in the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (A/47/253) and wished to present some ideas on how to enhance the effectiveness and efficiency of United Nations peace-keeping operations.

4. First, although every peace-keeping operation was different and had its own characteristics, the same mistakes were usually made in all such operations; in particular, the deployment of main forces before logistical units had caused many problems that should be avoided in future. The deployment of logistical units should be synchronized with the supply of the necessary technical equipment and material.

5. Secondly, there was a need to standardize operational and administrative procedures. Poland supported the exchange of national experience among countries that contributed troops, and it was ready to share the experience it had gained in the operation of the Military Centre for United Nations Peace-keeping Operations in Kielce.

6. Poland shared the Secretary-General's view concerning the need for an augmentation of the strength and capability of both military and civilian staff dealing with peace-keeping matters in the Secretariat. That was why his

(Mr. Zaleski, Poland)

delegation believed that the Secretariat, and in particular the Department of Peace-keeping Operations and the Field Operations Division, should keep an updated roster of candidates for future operations. Poland was adjusting its legislative and organizational norms in order to widen the recruitment of both military and civilian staff and would soon be able to respond positively to future requests of the Secretary-General concerning military observers, policemen and specialists needed in the field or at Headquarters, as suggested in the note by the President of the Security Council dated 29 October 1992 (S/24728).

7. That note also suggested that States should provide forces to the United Nations for peace-keeping operations at short notice. In that connection, the Government of Poland had decided to detach a number of infantry units to be available for peace-keeping operations in 7 to 14 days after the Secretary-General's request.

8. One of the most important aspects of peace-keeping operations was the safety of personnel who took part in such operations. In that respect, the situation required immediate action by the General Assembly, and that was why Poland was one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/47/L.8 and the relevant paragraphs of draft resolution A/SPC/47/L.7. Moreover, Poland supported the idea presented by the United Kingdom on behalf of the States members of the European Community to construct a memorial at United Nations Headquarters to United Nations personnel who had lost their lives in peace-keeping operations.

9. Mr. CHENG Jingye (China) said that his delegation had already explained its position on the Secretary-General's report entitled "An Agenda for Peace" during the consideration of agenda item 10, and it looked forward to an in-depth study of that report, in which China would actively participate.

10. With the end of confrontation between the two large military blocs, a new era in history had begun. However, the world was still very far from being peaceful and, in some areas, ethnic rivalries and territorial disputes, sometimes aggravated by armed conflicts, posed an enormous threat to world peace. In such circumstances, it was to be hoped that the United Nations would play a more important role. In recent years, the United Nations had made remarkable contributions to promoting the settlement of regional conflicts through peace-keeping operations, and China wished to pay tribute to all the military and civilian personnel who had participated in operations, and expressed its thanks to the Secretary-General for the way in which he had conducted such peace-keeping operations.

11. It was necessary to emphasize some of the important guiding principles for peace-keeping operations: the establishment and the activities of all peace-keeping operations must be based on the purposes and principles of the Charter; peace-keeping operations should be set up only at the request of all the parties concerned, and with their prior consent and cooperation; all

(Mr. Cheng Jingye, China)

peace-keeping operations must respect the principle of State sovereignty and non-interference and must observe neutrality and impartiality; and no peace-keeping operations should be allowed to use force except in self-defence.

12. With the continued increase of peace-keeping operations and the expansion of their activities, the human, material and financial resources of the United Nations were being increasingly strained. Before taking on a peace-keeping operation, it was advisable to examine all the circumstances in order to make an appropriate assessment. At the same time, the relevant parties had the responsibility of providing all the necessary cooperation and making full use of the favourable conditions created by the operation in order to find an early solution to the conflict through negotiations. His delegation was willing to cooperate with other countries to study the problem of financial difficulties and, in that regard, it believed that all Member States should fulfil their obligations.

13. The question of the safety of peace-keeping personnel had become an increasingly important issue. The United Nations should work out an appropriate solution to ensure that such dangers were reduced to a minimum. Moreover, all parties to a conflict had the responsibility and obligation to take all the necessary measures to ensure the safety of peace-keeping personnel.

14. China had always participated in United Nations efforts to maintain international peace and security, and there were currently 86 Chinese military observers and a 400-man engineering detachment serving in United Nations peace-keeping operations in the Middle East, Western Sahara, Iraq and Kuwait and Cambodia. China was ready to continue to make such contributions to the cause of peace.

15. Mr. McKEE (Ireland) supported the statement made by the United Kingdom on behalf of the 12 States members of the European Community.

16. The end of the cold war and the East-West confrontation had unveiled a more complex picture of regional and ethnic strife, which had claimed many lives. The conflict in former Yugoslavia in particular had revealed the frightening dimensions of inter-ethnic and regional violence. Against that background, the role of United Nations peace-keeping operations in the maintenance of international security was daily assuming greater importance. By the same token, the issue of the resources at the Organization's disposal to carry out its growing responsibilities had taken on added urgency.

17. As a result of the strong commitment of successive Irish Governments to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and the idealism of the many Irish who had volunteered to participate in peace-keeping operations, Ireland had contributed troops to most of the past and present operations, and it was currently participating in 10 of the 12 missions in the field.

(Mr. McKee, Ireland)

18. It was obvious that the dramatic expansion in peace-keeping operations in recent months placed a huge burden on the Secretariat, and Ireland paid tribute to the staff for their dedication in coping with the increased workload. Ireland welcomed the structural reforms within the Secretariat. However, it was convinced that it would ultimately be necessary to make the Field Operations Division part of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations, because a unified, integrated Department would ensure a more effective use of resources.

19. With respect to the report "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277-S/24111), Ireland particularly welcomed the Secretary-General's proposal to improve the start-up phase of new operations by providing for the establishment of a Peace-keeping Reserve Fund. It noted the commitment of other delegations to that proposal and hoped that agreement would be reached on the modalities for establishing such a Fund before the end of the current session.

20. The question of the safety of peace-keeping personnel required urgent measures. Like several other countries, Ireland had suffered casualties in 1992 among its troops serving with United Nations forces. It therefore welcomed the Secretary-General's emphasis on the safety of personnel at all stages of the planning and conduct of peace-keeping operations. In addition, Governments directly involved in conflict situations should do all in their power to ensure the safety of personnel. Ireland endorsed draft resolution A/SPC/47/L.8, introduced by Ukraine, of which it and the other members of the European Community were sponsors.

21. The financing of peace-keeping operations remained a major problem. As the Secretary-General had noted in his most recent report on the financial situation of the Organization (A/C.5/47/13), troop-contribting countries such as Ireland continued to bear the brunt of the late payments, and Ireland considered that state of affairs unacceptable. The financing of peace-keeping operations was the responsibility of all Members, and it could be met only by the payment of all contributions.

22. Peace-keeping operations played a critical role and were a tangible expression of the international community's commitment to the ideals expressed in the Charter. In the coming years, United Nations peace-keeping forces were likely to face ever more complex situations, and Ireland hoped that they would receive all the financial and moral support they needed to cary out successfully their difficult and noble mission.

23. Mr. MAKKAWI (Lebanon) said that the Special Political Committee had grasped the urgent need for the United Nations to meet the political and security challenges of today's world. Peace-keeping operations were the Organization's response to that challenge, and financial limitations should not be allowed to sap the strength of that response. In that regard, Lebanon supported the recommendations and conclusions contained in document A/47/253, especially with respect to the need to pool military and financial resources in order to create standing United Nations forces to ensure peace and security.

(Mr. Makkawi, Lebanon)

24. His delegation welcomed the Secretary-General's plans in "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277-S/24111) to expand the role of peace-keeping operations to encompass peacemaking operations. It believed that the definition of the concept of peace-keeping should be broadened to include election monitoring, distribution of humanitarian assistance, verification of demobilization agreements and conciliation of conflicting parties. That concept should also include the provision of the means of enforcing peace if peace-keeping forces became the target of aggression or were prevented from implementing their mandate.

25. Lebanon welcomed the proposals for the creation of a $50 million revolving peace-keeping fund for emergency humanitarian assistance, as well as a United Nations Peace Endowment Fund with an initial target of $1 billion.

26. Referring to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), he said that it had played a significant role in controlling the level of violence in its area of operation and in providing humanitarian assistance to the people in that area. It had also symbolized world commitment to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon. However, it should be pointed out that UNIFIL had experienced difficulties in fulfilling its mandate as a result of the activities of the Israeli military, including its routine attacks on the whole of the nation of Lebanon by land, air and sea, which had impeded the progressive transfer of the UNIFIL area of operation to the Lebanese Army.

27. Peace-keeping activities were and should continue to be temporary in nature, with specific objectives to be met within a specific time frame. The time had therefore come for the United Nations to see to it that the provisions of the mandate of UNIFIL were implemented and that Israel met its obligations accordingly. It was the duty of the United Nations to establish the conditions in which justice and respect for obligations arising from the Charter and international law could be maintained.

28. His delegation applauded the valuable contributions made by United Nations peace-keeping forces throughout the world and, in particular, the great sacrifices made by UNIFIL. It deeply shared the Secretary-General's concern for the safety of peace-keeping personnel, and it urged the Committee to adopt draft resolution A/SPC/47/L.8, which would contribute greatly to ensuring their safety and protection.

29. Mr. WATSON (United States of America) said that his delegation supported the resolution on the question of peace-keeping operations submitted to the Special Political Committee by the Committee of 34, which highlighted a number of ingredients essential to the success of United Nations efforts in preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping and peacemaking.

30. The capacity of the United Nations for preventive diplomacy should be strengthened. Concrete steps could be taken in that regard, such as the

(Mr. Watson, United States)

establishment of a more efficient and rational flow of information which would permit preventive diplomacy to be pursued in several areas at once, and the development of a more systematic capacity to analyse threats to peace and make timely use of the information related to those threats.

31. The United States also shared the view that means and mechanisms for deterring conflict should be explored. There could be no doubt that deterrence had contributed in many cases to conflict avoidance. Of equal importance was the capacity to respond rapidly to peace-keeping requirements. Member States should develop and train military units which could be made available at short notice for humanitarian and peace-keeping needs. The United States was engaged in an effort to identify services and resources which it could contribute to assist United Nations humanitarian and peace-keeping operations, and to explore ways in which United States facilities might be used in promoting joint international training, exercises and simulations.

32. A key aspect of readiness was financing and, in that connection, his delegation supported the proposal currently before the Fifth Committee regarding the establishment of a peace-keeping reserve fund. The formula for calculating peace-keeping assessments should be made more equitable to reflect the new interest by Member States in the increased peace-keeping activities of the United Nations.

33. A stronger organizational infrastructure was also essential. A computer-supported operations centre was indispensable to the rapid, complete and secure communications which were needed to provide timely and comprehensive information and control with regard to all aspects of peace-keeping operations in the field. There was also a need for a significant reinforcement of the number and capability of United Nations civilian and military staff engaged in contingency and operational planning for peace-keeping and related missions, and greater use should be made of seconded military and civilian personnel, particularly when missions were being planned or launched.

34. Finally, his delegation shared the view that the United Nations should be more systematic in integrating peace-building into conflict resolution. It also felt that, in addition to reflecting on the way in which the United Nations carried out its functions with regard to the maintenance of peace and security, Member States should also from time to time examine the reasons why the Organization carried out such functions.

35. Mr. BULUC (Turkey) said that his delegation endorsed the principles set forth in "An Agenda for Peace" and supported the procedures adopted for the discussion of the recommendations continued therein.

36. The success of peace-keeping operations rested on a clear and practicable mandate given by the Security Council, the cooperation of the parties

(Mr. Buluc, Turkey)

concerned, the readiness of Member States to contribute personnel, and financial and logistical support. The mandate for a peace-keeping operation had to be clearly drawn up, be tailored to the realities and imperatives of the situation and be periodically reviewed in order to ensure that the conditions which had necessitated the peace-keeping measure still prevailed and that it was still relevant. It was also important to review the effectiveness of such operations, with a view to streamlining them so as to reduce costs.

37. Any peace-keeping operation required the full cooperation of the parties to the conflict. Such cooperation began with their consent to the launching of that type of operation or to a review or modification of its mandate. Cooperation also depended on the good will of the parties and their determination to resolve the conflict. In that connection, the Security Council should consider taking measures against parties which refused to cooperate with peace-keeping operations.

38. The increase in the number of troop-contributing countries in recent operations was an encouraging sign of the universal support given to peace-keeping efforts. Wider geographical representation in peace-keeping operations would further encourage participation by countries which did not yet have experience but were prepared and willing to contribute. Countries which could contribute troops should not be discouraged from participation in peace-keeping operations because of considerations relating to their geographical proximity to a conflict.

39. It was important that the Secretariat should continue to receive updated information on what Member States could provide in terms of personnel and logistics, in order to create a sound and extensive database to be utilized in future operations. Turkey supported the call to Member States to respond to the questionnaire prepared by the Secretariat. Keeping in mind its responsibility to further the cause of international peace and security, Turkey had also expressed its readiness to contribute to peace-keeping operations.

40. His delegation supported the recommendations in the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace" with regard to the dangers and risks faced by peace-keeping personnel. In that connection, it supported draft resolution A/SPC/47/L.8, which it felt would help to preserve the life and dignity of peace-keeping personnel.

41. It was essential to find a solution to the current financial crisis in peace-keeping operations. Given the large number of peace-keeping operations currently being carried out by the United Nations, Member States should do everything possible to share in the costs of such operations. The establishment of a peace-keeping reserve fund, as recommended by the Secretary-General in "An Agenda for Peace", would enable the United Nations to utilize adequate resources in the start-up phase of peace-keeping operations.

(Mr. Buluc, Turkey)

The lack of funds had unfortunately been a cause of delay in operations requiring urgent deployment. His delegation felt that a full discussion of the questions relating to the early deployment of peace-keeping forces would be useful in determining the direction of future operations.

42. He commended the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and of the Working Group, and stressed that, since many elements in "An Agenda for Peace" were closely linked to the work of the Special Committee, every effort should be made to avoid duplication.

43. With regard to the report of the Special Committee, particular attention should be paid both to long-standing issues and to new ideas introduced during the session. The participation of civilians in peace-keeping operations was important, but they should not be used in military operations. Turkey attached great importance to the training of both civilian and military personnel and to the readiness of some States with training experience and the necessary facilities to cooperate with others in that area. The United Nations could play an important role in that connection.

44. In view of the increase in the scope of peace-keeping operations, his delegation supported the Secretary-General's recommendation regarding an increase in the strength and capability of the staff serving in the Secretariat in the peace-keeping sector, within the context of the drive towards efficiency. The regular flow of information between the Secretariat and Member States should be maintained and, in that connection, he commended the Secretariat's invaluable contribution.

45. Peace-keeping operations should be temporary in nature, and should complement peace-keeping efforts, by preventing a deterioration of the situation and by paving the way for lasting settlements. The ultimate aim should be to prevent conflicts from occurring. He believed that the action taken on the recommendations contained in "An Agenda for Peace" would help to achieve that end and his delegation was prepared to contribute to such an exercise, keeping in mind the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Finally, he expressed support for the draft resolution before the Committee.

46. Mr. DENEGRI (Peru) stressed the positive evolution of peace-keeping operations, which were accepted by the international community as an instrument for the settlement of conflicts, as well as the expansion of their functions, including the supervision of elections, administrative functions and humanitarian assistance. He drew attention to the importance of the document "An Agenda for Peace", which contained an analysis of the international situation and various initiatives in the area of international peace and security.

47. With the end of the cold war, the concept of international peace and security had taken on a more democratic form. Confidence in the Organization

(Mr. Denegri, Peru)

should be consolidated through the direct participation of all Member States, with broad geographical representation, in the decision-making process. In addition, broad representation would help to ensure the impartiality of the operations. The establishment of a working group to consider the report "An Agenda for Peace" was a necessary step to promote the participation of the General Assembly in the evolution of peace-keeping operations.

48. In the context of that process of democratization, it was important to promote cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations, as envisaged in Chapter VIII of the Charter, and with non-governmental organizations and the general public; in that connection, he supported the suggestion made in the Special Committee's report.

49. The concepts of preventive diplomacy and of peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building should be regarded as an integral part of the multilateral system, closely related to economic and social development. The development of those concepts, as part of a broad process of peace and security, made it necessary to reinterpret the concept of sovereignty to encompass the concept of national sovereignties, on the basis of mutual concessions which would result from a democratically established international consensus that was not imposed by a group of countries, on the priority objectives of multilateral action and the mechanisms to achieve them.

50. The establishment of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations was an important step towards improving the capacity of the Secretariat, in the light of the new demands made on it. Questionnaires, in turn, would contribute towards a better evaluation of the resources that could be provided by Member States.

51. The financing of peace-keeping operations amounted to more than double the regular budget of the Organization. In that connection, it was important to reiterate the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council and to take into account the more limited financial capacity of the developing countries. His delegation believed that the existing system of contributions was the most appropriate and that, despite financial problems, peace-keeping operations were the most efficient mechanism, from all points of view, for resolving conflicts. It was essential to study various possibilities for alleviating tension before it became acute, for example through the dispatch of fact-finding and observation missions, the establishment of observation posts, and diplomatic steps by the Secretary-General.

52. He said that Peru had always supported peace-keeping operations and drew attention to the need to strengthen the role those operations played with imagination and the necessary political balance in order to safeguard their intrinsic neutrality and promote the principle of universality and collective responsibility in the consolidation of international peace and security. Otherwise, a fundamental part of the structure of the Organization would be endangered.

(Mr. Denegri, Peru)

53. Lastly, he announced that, in the light of recent events, Peru would join the sponsors of the draft resolution on protection of peace-keeping personnel.

54. Mr. KHANDOGY (Ukraine) said that the activities of the United Nations in the field of peacemaking, peace-keeping, preventive diplomacy and related areas had become a priority topic in the Organization. He was confident that the ideas and proposals stemming from the debate in the Committee would contribute to a better understanding by the international community of the unique opportunity provided by the end of the cold war for the settlement of crisis situations. All conflicts could be resolved through multilateral efforts aimed at strengthening international peace and security, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

55. The universality and recognized impartiality of the United Nations were important elements since they strengthened mutual trust among the parties concerned. In that connection, he stressed that the United Nations should not in any way monopolize the peace-keeping process. An important role in that process should be played by regional organizations, whose authority and influence had greatly increased as a result of the profound change in the relations between the largest nuclear Powers and the end of East-West confrontation. He expressed the hope that the trend towards integration among States, especially in Europe, would make possible the full implementation of Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter, which provided for the peaceful settlement of disputes through regional arrangements.

56. Recent events had underscored the need for the creation of viable international mechanisms to detect potential hotbeds of tension and prevent them from escalating into open confrontation. In that connection, his delegation commended the definition of the concept of "preventive diplomacy" formulated by the Secretary-General and agreed that its application required measures to build confidence and the establishment of an early warning system based on information-gathering and informal and formal fact-finding; it might also involve preventive deployment and, in some cases, the creation of demilitarized zones.

57. Given the economic and social roots of many potential conflicts, a system must be developed that would encompass economic and social trends, as well as political developments that might lead to dangerous tension. In that regard, increased resort to fact-finding was needed, in accordance with the Charter, initiated by the Secretary-General, the Security Council or the General Assembly. The Special Committee of 34 should take up the issue of preventive diplomacy on the basis of existing recommendations, as well as the new ideas set forth in the report "An Agenda for Peace". As a point of departure, consideration could be given to the proposal that the Security Council, after consultations with regional organizations and the countries concerned, should establish "observation posts" in areas of potential tension. In that connection, he supported the idea that the Special Committee should hold an intersessional meeting early in 1993.

(Mr. Khandogy, Ukraine)

58. Ukraine attached special importance to the safety of United Nations peace-keeping personnel, not only because it contributed with troops to the operations, but also because it feared that the continuing attacks on the "Blue Helmets" might undermine the popular support that existed in many countries for their operations. The situation was particularly alarming in the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and the Special Committee should explore the possibility of drafting an international legal instrument, probably a convention, concerning the protection of personnel. Such an instrument might establish the responsibility of the States in which a peace-keeping operation was deployed, as well as of all the parties to a conflict, for the use of force against peace-keepers.

59. He stressed the urgency of the problem of financing peace-keeping operations and fully supported the principle of the collective responsibility of States, in accordance with Article 17 of the Charter. The organs of the United Nations should consider various additional sources of financing and, in that connection, he noted the growing need to address the question of the apportionment of costs. His delegation was convinced that the composition of groups of Member States did not correspond to the reality and that its modification, based on objective criteria, would have a positive effect on the overall financial situation of the Organization.

60. In conclusion, he expressed his confidence that the draft resolutions based on the conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee and the Working Group would be adopted by consensus, and supported the proposal of the United Kingdom that a memorial to those who had fallen in the service of peace should be established at Headquarters.

61. Mr. SARDENBERG (Brazil) said that his delegation endorsed the views expressed by Argentina on behalf of the Rio Group, but wished to make some additional remarks on points of more specific interest, relating especially to the views submitted by his country to the Secretary-General.

62. He drew attention to the importance and scale of current peace-keeping operations and the renewed interest not only in questions raised by that unprecedented increase, but also in the evolution of the very concept of such operations.

63. The document entitled "An Agenda for Peace" was an important frame of reference for the discussion of the future of peace-keeping operations; it contained ideas and proposals that deserved careful consideration by Member States. His delegation supported the discussions that were taking place on the subject within the open-ended working group established by the President of the General Assembly and commended the practice of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations of encouraging the participation of any interested delegation in the debates of its open-ended working group.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

64. Brazil had consistently supported United Nations peace-keeping operations and was currently participating in three of them: UNAVEM II, to which it had assigned military observers, a medical unit, and police and electoral observers; and ONUSAL and UNPROFOR, to which it had assigned military observers, one of whom had been seriously wounded at Sarajevo. In that connection, it should be mentioned that Brazil, which shared the concern of other countries about the safety of United Nations peace-keeping personnel, was one of the co-sponsors of the draft resolution presented by Ukraine, which was contained in document A/SPC/47/L.8.

65. There was room for improvement in United Nations logistics and organizational procedures. In that area, it would be necessary to improve the coordination between the Department of Peace-keeping Operations, the Military Adviser's Office and the Field Operations Division. The strengthening of cooperation between those departments would enhance the efficiency of the Organization and facilitate the participation of Member States in peace-keeping operations, as indicated in paragraph 313 of the report of the Board of Auditors (A/47/5).

66. With regard to the financing of peace-keeping operations, his delegation agreed that such operations were a joint responsibility of Member States and that, in accordance with Article 17 of the Charter of the United Nations, they should be financed through assessed contributions. The establishment of a special scale of assessment would offer three advantages: easy accountability of the system, equity, and political and economic realism. In that connection, Brazil, along with other members of the Rio Group, was in favour of making the financing of peace-keeping operations stable by permanently adopting the system of contributions established under General Assembly resolution 3101 (XXVIII).

67. The Security Council had revised the mandate of UNPROFOR concerning the financial arrangements for the deployment of troops and military observers, thereby introducing elements of inequality into the system of payment. Participation in self-financed peace-keeping operations limited the number of troop contributors, since only the developed countries were in a position to bear the costs of such participation; that ran counter to the idea supported by the General Assembly in paragraph 33 of resolution 46/48.

68. In the field of preventive diplomacy, full use should be made of the resources of the Charter, including measures for the pacific settlement of disputes provided for in Chapter VI. Peace-keeping activities of the United Nations should be guided by the definition of peacemaking contained in resolutions 46/48 and 46/59 of the General Assembly.

69. The implementation of an Agenda for Peace could not exclude the revitalization of the role of the General Assembly in the maintenance of international peace and security. In that regard, there was need for enhanced coordination among the Security Council, the General Assembly and the

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

Secretariat, and a strengthening of the role of regional organizations and of their ties with the United Nations.

70. Mr. OULD MOHAMED MAHMOUD (Mauritania) said that, in view of the increasing complexity of peace-keeping operations, careful planning was required based on the cardinal principles governing international relations, namely, the sovereign equality and territorial integrity of all States, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, non-use of force, and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

71. His delegation took note of the two reports of the Special Committee (A/47/253 and A/47/386), whose recommendations were quite similar to those proposed by the Secretary-General in his report entitled "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277-S/24111), and welcomed the establishment of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations.

72. The steady increase in the number of peace-keeping operations entailed additional expenditure. In Mauritania's view, while the financing of such operations should continue to be the collective responsibility of Member States, in accordance with Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter, it was important to take into account the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council and the financial difficulties of the developing countries.

73. Attention had been drawn to the need to promote active cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations. Although it could benefit both parties, such cooperation should be conceived only in terms that were in conformity with Chapter VIII of the Charter, in order not to detract from the role played by the United Nations in that area.

74. The increasing number and complexity of peace-keeping operations also required that the United Nations should have qualified personnel at its disposal. Mauritania therefore supported the Special Committee's request that the Secretary-General should examine the possibility of organizing a training programme for key peace-keeping personnel with a view to establishing a pool of staff who were familiar with the United Nations system and its methods of work. In that connection, it would be appropriate to define standardized operational procedures which could be applied in all cases.

75. In conclusion, his delegation stressed that security and development were indivisible and drew attention to the need to adopt effective measures to deal with the economic and social problems of some countries, pointing out that that was crucial to the maintenance of international peace and security; it called for an increased role for preventive diplomacy and was prepared to support any action which might strengthen the role of the United Nations, particularly in the field of peace-keeping.

76. Mr. EXARCHOS (Greece) said that his delegation subscribed to the statement made at an earlier meeting by the representative of the United Kingdom speaking on behalf of the European Community and its member States. The report of the Secretary-General "An Agenda for Peace" had created a new dynamic. The contribution of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and of the Special Political Committee would be instrumental in shaping the future development of peace-keeping activities.

77. Greece, which was a strong supporter of the role of the United Nations in the field of peace-keeping, had a keen interest in participating in that exercise. In recent years, it had contributed a civilian contingent to UNTAG and military observers to UNIKOM and to MINURSO and it stood ready, within the limits of its capability, to contribute with further contingents to future operations. That commitment stemmed from its belief that the maintenance of peace and security was the collective responsibility of the international community.

78. At recent meetings of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, some delegations had expressed the view that the size, structure and mandate of existing operations should be subject to constant review in order to ensure maximum effectiveness at the lowest possible cost. His delegation believed that the need to reduce the cost of peace-keeping operations should in no way affect the basic operational and security arrangements of such operations nor undermine their capacity to discharge the mandates entrusted to them by the Security Council.

79. Peace-keeping operations should be provisional arrangements and not a substitute for a political settlement of a conflict. However, where one of the parties to a dispute was unwilling to comply with the resolutions adopted by the Security Council, it was difficult to foresee the duration of the operation in question. The reduction in the size of an operation might, in certain cases, reward the aggressor, and that posed a difficult moral question. His delegation was therefore convinced that it was up to the Security Council to act effectively in order to ensure that its resolutions were implemented.

80. The chronic financial problems of UNFICYP were well-known to the members of the Committee and had been duly pointed out in the relevant reports of the Secretary-General. While UNFICYP had been established for a brief period, its continued presence in Cyprus remained indispensable. Greece fully endorsed the views of the Secretariat that it would not be proper at the present stage to address the question of a change in the mandate of UNFICYP. At the same time, it was concerned over recent announcements of the reduction or even withdrawal of contingents from the operation, since, as the Force Commander had stated, the withdrawal of contingents would further compromise the Force's ability to carry out its mandate.

81. On the question of the financing of peace-keeping operations, Greece, which advocated the view that all Member States should share the cost of such

(Mr. Exarchos, Greece)

operations under a system of assessed contributions, fully endorsed the statement made at an earlier meeting by the Permanent Representative of Denmark, speaking on behalf of the Nordic countries, and he reiterated his Government's decision to increase the amount of its voluntary contribution to peace-keeping operations to $1 million per annum, even if a new system brought its assessed contribution to a lower level.

82. Mr. Khouini (Tunisia) took the Chair.

83. Mr. VALEV (Bulgaria) said that it was imperative for the United Nations to adapt its activities, particularly those related to peace-keeping, to the new international realities. Thirteen peace-keeping operations had been launched since 1988, the same number as during the whole of the previous 40 years. Currently 12 peace-keeping operations were in progress, involving more than 50,000 military, police and civilian personnel, in four continents, and another one was to be organized in Mozambique.

84. Qualitatively speaking, the very concept of peace-keeping had evolved to cover such activities as the supervision of elections and the distribution of humanitarian assistance. The report of the Secretary-General "An Agenda for Peace" presented a comprehensive set of ideas and recommendations concerning preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping in the light of the current pressing problems. Bulgaria would participate in the discussions on those issues in the informal open-ended working group, the Main Committees of the General Assembly, the Security Council and other relevant bodies of the United Nations. In view of the substantial economic difficulties which it was experiencing as a result of its implementation of the Security Council sanctions, Bulgaria had a special interest in early action by the Council to address issues relating to the effectiveness of Article 50 of the Charter.

85. His delegation had carefully studied the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (A/47/253) and supported its conclusions and recommendations. It also welcomed the ideas and views set forth in the special report of the Special Committee (A/47/386). In 1992, Bulgaria had had its first opportunity to participate in United Nations peace-keeping operations, with a contingent of 783 troops, 75 policemen and 17 military observers in UNTAC. Its experience showed that the success of peace-keeping operations largely depended on the quality of the training of personnel. For that reason, it proposed to establish a peace-keeping personnel training centre to exchange experience with other similar institutions.

86. Bulgaria was grateful to those foreign Governments which had, on a bilateral basis, rendered assistance in the training of Bulgarian peace-keeping personnel and, in that connection, it welcomed the reports of the Secretary-General in documents A/47/597 and A/47/604. Bulgaria looked forward to the commencement in the near future of the United Nations peace-keeping fellowship programme, which it believed would be extremely useful and cost-effective.

(Mr. Valev, Bulgaria)

87. As a troop-contributing country, Bulgaria was seriously concerned about the safety of peace-keeping personnel and supported draft resolution A/SPC/47/L.8.

88. Bulgaria shared the concerns about the financial difficulties of the Organization and supported the proposal of the Secretary-General regarding the establishment of a reserve fund to meet the initial expenses of peace-keeping operations pending receipt of assessed contributions. Another solution to the problem would be to allocate a fixed percentage of the defence budgets of Member States to the financing of peace-keeping activities.

89. His country welcomed the establishment of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations and commended its staff, as well as the staff of the Secretariat as a whole, for their work in that area.

90. Mr. NYAMIKEH (Ghana) said that he looked forward to the establishment of a working group of the General Assembly to consider in depth the report "An Agenda for Peace" and that the reports of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations would greatly enhance discussions on that subject.

91. The end of the cold war provided a window of opportunity, as well as challenges: the departure of one set of problems had been followed by the emergence of a multitude of others. Current conflicts could no longer be perceived within the context of East-West relations but rather in terms of the disintegration of societies along ethnic and religious lines. There was a direct link between the new forms of conflict and the phenomenal increase in peace-keeping operations.

92. Although the contours of the new world order remained uncertain, the new situations had inspired new forms of relations and brought into focus the need for States to renew their commitment to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, a cardinal principle of which was that States should settle their disputes by peaceful means.

93. The United Nations should not be selective in its peace-keeping operations. Ghana noted with concern that conflicts in certain parts of the world did not receive the serious attention they deserved, as was the case with Liberia and Somalia. The refugee problems created by the conflict in Liberia had stretched to the full the capacity of neighbouring countries, and the burden had fallen on the countries of the subregion, which had taken action within the framework of the Organization of African Unity. In Somalia, the tardy response of the United Nations had contributed to the escalation of the conflict, which in turn had made it all the more difficult to deliver humanitarian assistance.

94. It was estimated that peace-keeping operations over the next 12 months would cost US$ 3 billion. Although his country supported such operations, it believed that the Secretariat's peace-keeping functions should not be allowed to undermine other areas of activity. The pressures brought to bear on the

(Mr. Nyamikeh, Ghana)

United Nations in the event of new conflicts should not provide a pretext for intervention. Respect for the sovereignty of States and the principle of consent of the parties involved should remain the basis for any peace-keeping operation.

95. With regard to resources, the prompt and full payment of assessed contributions was indispensable. Another important issue in the area of peace-keeping was the protection of personnel, and his country accordingly supported the draft resolution contained in document A/SPC/47/L.8. Involved in peace-keeping operations since 1960, Ghana had always discharged its responsibilities diligently, even in difficult economic circumstances, and would continue to do so.

96. Mr. YATTARA (Mali) deplored the ethnic, religious and territorial conflicts which threatened international peace and security and had led to a proliferation of peace-keeping operations. His country commended the report of the Committee and believed that implementation of all the proposals would require cooperation on the part of all countries. It also welcomed the creation of the new Department of Peace-keeping Operations.

97. His delegation shared the view, expressed by many others, that peace-keeping operations, in view of their geometric progression and the enormity of the resources consumed, represented only a transitional stage of the search for peace. In that connection, it supported the Secretary-General's proposals, in his report entitled "An Agenda for Peace", concerning mechanisms for the prevention and management of conflicts.

98. Additionally, he recalled that a decision had been taken at the last meeting held at Dakar, of the Heads of State and Government of members of the Organization of African Unity to establish a mechanism for the prevention, management and solution of conflicts in accordance with the relevant provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations.

99. In conclusion, he affirmed that international peace and security could be assured only through greater international solidarity, which was the only means to end the multiple conflicts and tensions threatening the current equilibrium.

100. Mr. MARTINEZ CORDOVES (Cuba) noted that, in addition to the unprecedented increase in the number of peace-keeping operations, problems relating to the financing of such operations had taken on a new dimension. Various financial formulas had been suggested for the solution of those problems: some seemed appropriate, while others, in the view of his delegation, constituted a departure from the norms and principles of management which prevailed and should continue to prevail in the United Nations.

101. With regard to the Secretary-General's agenda for peace, which was the subject of an additional meeting of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, he noted the indication in the Committee's report (A/47/386) that

(Mr. Martinez Cordoves, Cuba)

widely differing views had been expressed during the discussions on the concepts applied by the Secretary-General and on the operational and financial mechanisms which he proposed. A similar difference of opinions emerged during discussions of agenda item 10 in the plenary meetings of the General Assembly at its current session. Those differences had led to the establishment of an open-ended Working Group, which would coordinate consideration of the agenda for peace.

102. It must be remembered that the principles set forth in Article 2 of the Charter constituted and must continue to constitute the conrnerstone of United Nations action. Full preservation of the sovereignty of Member States and non-interference in their internal affairs were inviolable principles which could not be questioned in any mechanism to be imposed on Members of the United Nations. The Organization had recently lost much of the sense of balance which should govern its activities. The predominance of the great Powers meant that the role assigned to third world countries was becoming increasingly marginal, and there was a risk that the operational mechanisms now being created would allow those great Powers to exploit the United Nations yet further as an instrument for their political objectives.

103. The use of limited sovereignty as a guiding concept, the idea of imposing certain political and economic models on a world-wide scale and the preponderant influence of certain permanent members of the Security Council made it doubtful that the mechanisms proposed in the report entitled "An Agenda for Peace" could be applied impartially, fairly and equitably under current conditions of political and military unipolarity. The recommendations contained in the document should therefore be addressed with caution and be adopted only after a responsible, intelligent and careful examination of all their possible implications, in the light of current political trends.

104. There were also flaws in the proposed revisions to many different programmes of the United Nations medium-term plan. For example, programme 1 of the plan included concepts appearing in the document entitled "An Agenda for Peace", affecting not only the title of the programme itself but also its structure and the priorities of the subprogrammes, ignoring the fact that the document was simply a proposal by the Secretary-General and therefore could not legally be taken as a legislative mandate for any activity under the medium-term plan. He was also concerned by the references in subprogramme 3 of programme 1 to "threats to peace", "conflict areas", "disputes" or "developments related to peace and security", omitting the adjective "international". In a similar vein, he agreed with the representative of Colombia that subprogramme 4 of programme 4 was not the responsibility of the Special Political Committee.

105. The problems of financing peace-keeping operations had also been extensively addressed during the discussions. The proposals put forward should be carefully examined, but the idea of charging interest on arrears or of taking out commercial loans from banking institutions must be rejected. Neither should changes be made in the current special scale of contributions for peace-keeping operations.

(Mr. Martinez Cordoves, Cuba)

106. His delegation had on repeated occasions expressed its growing interest in peace-keeping operations and intended to become a member, at the appropriate time, of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and to provide personnel for ongoing operations. Unfortunately, it had so far not been considered appropriate to allow Cuba to make its contribution. He was confident that the reasons were purely bureaucratic and that there was no deliberate wish to diminish the universality which should govern the establishment and functioning of peace-keeping operations.

107. Ms. DAPUL (Philippines) commended the unceasing labours of those responsible for United Nations peace-keeping operations and paid tribute to those who had fallen in the service of peace. Given the proliferation of such operations and their conversion into multidimensional and complex undertakings, she attached great importance to the review of the question, as a basic component of the Organization's efforts to strengthen and increase its efficiency in terms of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building.

108. She welcomed the report entitled "An Agenda for Peace", which sought to bring the United Nations back to its roots as an organization with an effective capacity to make and to keep the peace. The Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), of which her country was a member, had presented ideas and proposals to the open-ended Working Group studying the document, which constituted a mechanism for coordination between the General Assembly, its Committees and the Security Council.

109. Her country, which was contributing troops to the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), was convinced that peace-keeping complemented peacemaking. The latter was based on the concept and practice of the peaceful settlement of disputes, a principle to which the Philippines adhered and which had been enshrined in the Manila Declaration.

110. She was aware of the destructive warfare in many countries where operations were deployed and expressed her deep concern for the security of personnel. She urged the countries and the parties to such conflicts to take all possible measures to ensure the security of personnel and expressed unequivocal support for the draft resolution on that subject.

111. Urgent action should be taken to close the gap between the Organization's capabilities and resources and the demands made upon it. The Philippines was making every effort to meet its obligations in that regard, despite its economic difficulties. It had also responded to the questionnaire on personnel and resources that could be used in peace-keeping operations, and was continuing to assess its possible contributions.

112. It was the collective responsibility of Member States to share the cost of peace-keeping operations. They must be called upon to pay their dues in full and on time, but at the same time a workable payment formula taking into

(Ms. Dapul, Philippines)

account their capacity to pay must be found, as must innovative approaches to financing. Priority should be given to setting up a system for funding the start-up phase of peace-keeping operations. Japan had made an interesting proposal to establish a start-up fund from surplus contributions.

113. The Philippines hoped that the creation of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations would result in better coordination and the establishment of a unified, integrated structure for the management of peace-keeping operations. Their management could be improved, as had been suggested, by the establishment of a round-the-clock operations centre for both operational and logistical matters. The Philippines welcomed Canada's proposal to sponsor the drafting of a logistics doctrine and standard logistical operating procedures combining civilian and military aspects.

114. It also supported the recommendation to institute proper procedures for providing additional personnel on a short-term basis so that the Secretariat could respond effectively during the planning and launching phases of new operations. Furthermore, it considered staff training to be essential, and supported the establishment of a training programme for key personnel of peace-keeping operations with a view to creating a pool of trained personnel with knowledge of the United Nations system and its working procedures.

115. The Philippines subscribed to the proposition that the easing of tensions and the early containment of conflict situations were the most efficient means of maintaining international peace and security. It supported the exercise of preventive diplomacy by the Secretary-General, the use of his mission of good offices, the sending of fact-finding missions, and the establishment of observation posts in areas where fighting was imminent, in order to prevent the outbreak of hostilities. It also supported the establishment of an early-warning system within the Department of Political Affairs, since preventive diplomacy required a monitoring mechanism complemented by a rapid-response capability, for which timely, accurate and unbiased information was a prerequisite. The system should be supported by a skilled staff and an adequate infrastructure, including access to the data and risk assessments that were in the hands of the specialized agencies and United Nations offices in the field.

116. The "Blue Helmets" personified hope for peoples ravaged by war, and the United Nations could not disappoint such hope for peace. The recommendations and decisions taken on peace-keeping, peacemaking and peace-building would affect and save lives and, under the circumstances, it was the least that could be done.

117. Mr. ELARABY (Egypt) said that the United Nations was at a crucial juncture in its mission to maintain international peace and security. Despite the end of the cold war, many regional conflicts persisted, and its peace-keeping functions had expanded to encompass entailed cease-fire supervision, election monitoring and humanitarian and human rights operations.

(Mr. Elaraby, Egypt)

118. The regulations governing the work of the peace-keeping forces had been flexible enough to satisfy existing needs. However, those regulations were not hard and fast, and circumstances now required that they be changed, a task that could be assigned to the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

119. Egypt welcomed the recommendations of the Special Committee with regard to financing, personnel and logistical support. It was unfortunate that the material resources required by the peace-keeping forces had not been made available with the degree of flexibility needed to keep pace with the proliferation of the operations.

120. The costs of peace-keeping operations were soaring and more than $800 million were outstanding. The United Nations had not been able to finance the operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which meant that certain troop-contributing States had had to bear the cost. Additional resources must therefore be provided.

121. The Secretary-General in his "Agenda for Peace" had put forward new ideas about using peace-keeping forces and giving regional organizations an enhanced role in keeping the peace and building trust among the parties to a conflict. The possibility of applying the recommendations he had made should be studied. The ideas expressed by the Secretary-General on the matter formed a whole and could not be treated separately or seen as distinct from the collective security of the United Nations. The informal working group could review all those questions.

122. Egypt attached great importance to peace-keeping operations, as evidenced by its participation in the current operations in Angola, Western Sahara, Cambodia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and by its plan to send a contingent to Somalia in the next few days.

123. His delegation, aware that the conditions under which the United Nations were serving were becoming increasingly dangerous, believed that steps must be taken to protect them and accordingly supported draft resolution A/SPC/47/L.8, which it had sponsored. The Special Committee should continue to review the question in order to submit specific proposals on the matter to the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session.

124. Egypt was a proponent of the restructuring of peace-keeping operations within the Secretariat, and hoped that the Secretary-General would further strengthen the Department of Peace-keeping Operations. Furthermore, Egypt welcomed the idea of establishing a peace-keeping fellowship programme and the offers by various countries to help train peace-keeping personnel, and it endorsed the Secretary-General's view that the principles of the Charter must be applied consistently, not selectively, so that all peoples could trust the Charter.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.